

- 621 (Group I. 5, contained a nephew of Ego's dead wife, who had moved because he needed more land. But having joined, for economic purposes, with a group of his affinals, he proceeded to have all his intimate relations with them and, even in winter, when he moved back near his blood kin, his relations were with the new group, not with the old. It was propinquity which determined intimacy.)

An old village was larger and contained more unrelated families but it was generally segmented into groups of kin who continued to build houses near each other and to unite for work sharing, almost as though they were a separate village. The selection of these groups was as dependent on economic chance as that of a new village for, though usually close kin kept together, some of them might, for reasons of land or housing convenience, become attached to a group of more distant relatives. Then they would throw in their lot with these new neighbor-kin and have their closest relationships with them rather than with the old group.

Kin groups recorded for old villages are as follows:

Appendix I. 1 Ego

Three brothers

One sister

(A group of paternal relatives lived elsewhere in the village)

I. 2 Ego

"Near sibling" i.e. first cousin, side of house unknown

Father's younger sister

Father's mother's daughter's son to Ego's wife

Father's father's brother's son to Ego's wife

Two brother's of Ego's wife

Two father's father's brother's sons' daughters to Ego's son's wife

(In another part of the village lived relatives who were actually closer to Ego, i. e. two daughter's of Ego's younger brother with other relatives of his wife.)

I. 6 Ego

Younger brother

Younger sister

Younger sister's daughter

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476 Each biological family in a group worked its land in common, (at least until the death of the father) but on special occasions, such as planting and harvesting, they called in the neighbor kin and

HOW the Papago Indians Work

THE FAMILY -

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The approximately 2,000 Desert People who move out into the cotton fields from their reserves to work do not move alone. The family--father, mother and children--moves as a unit.

"It should be emphasized that, although a larger percentage of his income is obtained from work off the reservation, the Papago wage worker is not generally a footloose migratory laborer according to the usual pattern in the United States. The Papago laborer usually takes his family with him and maintains his home on the reservation."¹

[162] The Papago family living in Pinal and Pima county labor camps in 1950 averaged some 4½ persons,² making the total number of Desert People living in labor camps at the peak of the cotton harvesting season in the neighborhood of 4,500.

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The usual Papago family in a labor camp included a father and mother and two or three children. Families with children had 3 oftener than 2.³ About 60% of the Papago families working in the cotton fields brought school children with them from the reserves.⁴ What this meant to public schools in the trading centers of the cotton growing area may be deduced from the fact that families with school-age children had on the average 1.6 such offspring to be taught in the schools.⁵ If both father and mother work, this means school authorities in the cotton-growing areas of Pima and Pinal counties should expect to provide educational facilities for .8 Papago school children per approximately 60% of the total number of Papago harvesters.

¹Thompson, 1951, p. 71.

²47 families had 208 persons, an average of 4.43 individuals in each family. (Actually these families included some additional persons not enumerated.)

³28 families with children had 64, averaging 2.2857.

⁴Of 31 families giving information, 18 brought school-age children to the camps, or 58.1%.

⁵The 18 families brought 26 school-age children.

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This Papago family including parents and sometimes another adult, with 2 or 3 children is a comparatively smaller unit than native families living on European owned South African farms, for example. There Dutch and English settlers also moved into native held lands, and a class of permanent native farm laborers has grown up. Their average household includes slightly more than 3 adults, and 5 children.¹ This is about the size of the Papago extended family living as a household on the reserves. "Most often, and ideally, a household consists of the old parents, unmarried sons and daughters, and married sons with their wives and children--three generations in all."² It reflects the fact that living on European operated farms is new to the Desert People, a move accomplished by biological family units in the younger age groups. Only recently as younger Papagos have gone to school and learned white ways have they begun to set up separate households away from their parents.

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Families with school-age children are the largest in the labor camps. The average family size for families with school-age offspring only is over 6.³ The families with both school and pre-school children averaged over 7 individuals.⁴ This probably reflects the high mortality rate of smaller children among the Desert People, whose new-born babies have a life expectancy of only 17 years.⁵

Families with younger parents and all pre-school age children are, of course, smaller, running some 4 individuals, with nearly 2 children per family.⁶

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Migration to the cotton fields reinforces the tendency to break up the old Papago extended family into smaller units like our biological family households. This change is most complete among families living in labor camps all the time, having severed their reservation ties more or less completely.

¹Hunter, 1937, p. 391.

²Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 45.

³10 families interviewed with 19 school children, 66.

⁴8 families with 10 school children, 1.25 average, and 14 pre-school, 1.75 average, had 57 persons, 7.125 average, plus.

⁵60 families with 15 children under 6 had 32 plus people.

⁶Secretary of the Interior, 1949, p. 12.

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The change in attitude toward the family is indicated by the thought habits of harvest workers as shown by their answers to inquiries as to whether the entire family was in the labor camp. Well over half replied that all their family was in the camp, although further questioning developed that actually relatives counted part of the traditional extended family remained on the reservations. These laborers were thinking in terms of the biological family rather than the traditional extended family group.¹

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Papago harvest hands are not as socially and economically independent of the relatives they leave behind on the reserves as one might think. Strong cultural ties bind them to their relatives. The farm laborers know they will return home for most of the year--the harvest season is only an interlude. Even during picking season, Papago laborers return to the reserves on religious occasions, and meet their relatives who cannot leave the reserves to earn cash. On the other side of the picture, the stay-at-home relatives care for the property and animals of the wage laborers while they work.

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Most frequently it is the older generation which has less knowledge of English and Anglo working habits that stays on the reserves. Among workers who recognize that part of their family stayed on the reserves, about 60% left parents.² One pattern of behavior for laboring Desert People is to leave school children with their grandparents on the reserves so their schooling will not be interrupted by the move to the cotton farms and back. Perhaps a sixth do so.³ Another pattern is for siblings to stay home to care for property left on the reserves. Again, about a sixth of the cotton pickers relied on such a relative in 1950.

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About one family of 10 is either so large or so poor that all members of the extended family leave the reserves to work, but go to different camps.⁴

¹80% of those asked said the whole family was in camp (21 of 35 families giving information).

²Of 19 families giving information, 12 had parents on the reservations--63.2%

³Of the 19 families, 3 left children with their grandparents--15.8%.

⁴This was true of 2 of the 19 families giving data, 10.5%.

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As it is, the horses kept by each family seem to run just slightly under the number allowed on permits assigned by the Council. Among families picking cotton, the average permit was for 7 horses.

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Papago harvest hands can go off and leave unplanted fields without worrying. But the laborer with cattle or horses has a problem. Three-fourths of the pickers with animals in 1950 left them in the care of some relative-- a brother, son, father, or uncle. This fact is apparently one main reason for members of the Papago extended family remaining on the reserves while others go off to pick cotton. Along with the pattern of leaving children with their grandparents so they can continue uninterrupted in Indian Bureau schools, it illustrates the continuing economic function of the Papago extended family. Although the biological family is the main unit working for wages, in the wider economic picture it is the extended family which is the functioning unit.

The laborers who do not leave their animals in someone's care simply let them run loose on the reserve or occasionally a family will be able to bring its horses to a labor camp.

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On the reserved lands themselves, the labor market is relatively restricted. Employers are limited to the U. S. Indian Bureau (hiring over 100 Desert People)³ the Papago Tribe (hiring half a dozen Papagos full time) the state and county highway departments, trading posts, and mines. These jobs generally require some degree of skill and training, and are filled by those of the Desert People who have had more educational opportunities. A high proportion of these employees are Presbyterians because of the emphasis Papago converts place upon education, and good quality of denomination schools.

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Many cotton harvesters recognize these fundamental reasons for their working. When they expressed their reasons for coming to the fields to labor, they said they came because "We don't have any fields," or "I didn't have a job," (the most frequent reply). Or some recognized the cause, but thought in the old mental paths of the Desert People: "There hasn't been any rain."

¹13 of the families giving data had permits for 91 head,
²9 of 18 families giving information did.
³Joseph, Spicer, and Cheky, 1949, p. 37.